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ABSTRACT

National systems of journalism training are the result of an interplay of three dimensions: (1) the role and function of a society to its journalists; (2) the structures in the field of journalism (e.g., legal regulations, unions, journalism councils); and (3) the media system. Although similarities among countries can be found in particular dimensions, differences in others lead to the great inhomogeneity of journalism in western Europe. With access to journalism being free all over Western Europe, there are two different ways of entering the profession: direct entry or training outside of media companies. The latter category can be subdivided into training acquired at the stand-alone schools of journalism or acquired at a university or in some connection with it. On this basis, Western European countries can be divided into four groups. In the first group are those countries that have integrated journalism at the universities: Sweden, Finland, and Spain. The clearest trend towards an academization of journalism education can be seen in Sweden. In the second group are those countries in which journalism is concentrated in stand-alone schools: Italy, Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark. The third group follows a mixed system of journalism training in outside companies combining courses at stand-alone schools and universities: France, Germany, Ireland and Portugal. The final group of countries includes those formally dominated by the on-the-job training philosophy: its main representative is Great Britain. (Contains 5 notes; contains 10 references.) (TB)

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Structures of Inhomogeneity - Dilemmas of Journalism Training in Europe

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National systems of journalism training are the result of an interplay of three dimensions:

a) the role and function a society ascribes to its journalists,

b) the structures in the field of journalism (e. g. legal regulations, unions, journalism councils), and

c) the media system. Although similarities between some countries can be found in particular dimensions, differences in others lead to the great inhomogeneity of journalism training in western Europe.

With access to journalism being free all over Western Europe, there are two different ways of entering the profession: 1) direct entry, or 2) training outside the media companies. Direct entry here comprises any mode of on-the-job training within and under the control of a media company either through "the leap into cold water" or by undergoing training which is formalized in some way for a fixed period of time. Journalism education outside the media companies is either provided in the form of vocational training by stand-alone schools of journalism or as journalism studies at the university level with overlapping to be found between the two.[1]

Professionalization through Systematic Journalism Training

The importance of either mode and the degree of formalization in the different countries can be used for the purpose of roughly systematizing the west European models of journalism training. On this basis we can identify four groups of countries:

A) A first group is formed by countries with a heavy emphasis on journalism education at university level;

B) the second group comprises countries where journalism training is dominated by stand-alone schools which may be interlinked with universities in some way;

C) the third group has a mixed system of university level education and stand--alone schools;

D) finally, the fourth group relies primarily on on-the-job-training.

A country is assigned to one of these groups in the first place on the basis of the institutional structure of journalism training. Dependent on national traditions, the influence of journalist unions, publisher associations or government policy on journalism training, and the time since these institutional structures have developed, we find further differences among the countries within the groups. That means, irrespective of the institutional structures of journalism training, other routes of entry to the profession may still be widely available.

Group A

Among the countries which have mainly integrated journalism training at the universities are Sweden, Finland, and Spain. The clearest trend towards an academization of journalism education can be seen in Sweden. Although access to journalism is free, more than a half of the young journalists today come from the journalism programmes at the universities. Most of the others have gone through practical training in the media companies.

In 1959 the first public institute for journalism was founded in Stockholm. It offered a one-year programme in journalism. A similar course was set up in Gothenburg in 1962. Finally in 1967 both institutes were transformed into "högskolors" (polytechnics) without becoming part of the universities. At the same time their courses were extended to two-year programmes. In 1977 both journalism schools were incorporated into the universities in Stockholm and Gothenburg.

The Swedish journalist union has great influence on the system of journalism education. This is due to Swedish law prescribing a co-operation between professional, industrial and other organizations where questions of professional training and practice are concerned. That is why the journalist union automatically becomes part of government commissions dealing with journalism education. The union is also an official member of the curriculum commissions at the universities of Stockholm and Gothenburg. For many years now, the journalism programme at these two universities has developed out of discussions between the publishers and the union. Very much in contrast to the usual demands made by journalist unions in other European countries the Swedish union supported a further extension of the academic education even after the journalism programmes had been integrated into the universities. The publishers instead asked for the establishment of a one-year post-graduate programme in journalism. A joint commission of publishers and the journalists' union finally reached a compromise in 1989: Starting in the winter of 1989, the two-year programmes in

Gothenburg and Stockholm were extended to three years. The union had thus achieved its aim. As a concession to the publishers, post-graduate programmes were installed in addition to the primary studies in both Stockholm and Gothenburg. On account of the expansion of the programmes, journalism education in Sweden was concentrated in the two biggest cities. The government therefore decided to establish another journalism programme at the University of Sundsvall in central Sweden where it is attached to the institute of mass communications.

In Finland a systematic and formally determined type of journalism education can only be found at the universities. This has a relatively long tradition: The first study programme in journalism was established at the University of Tampere as early as 1925. Today the universities in Tampere and Jyväskylä offer journalism education as so-called full academic programmes, including the possibility of doctorate studies. In addition, Tampere and Helsinki have programmes for lower academic degrees. About half of today's Finnish journalists have graduated from university, with one third graduating from journalism. The companies do not offer a systematic training but only a certain form of internship. Graduates from study courses other than journalism have to go through a one-year internship, applicants with matriculation a two-year internship, and those with any other professional experience, a three-year internship. 38% of the Finnish journalists have made their way into the profession through "learning by doing". It is interesting to note that these journalists are included in Finnish statistics in the group of those with "no journalism education".

Group B

Concentration of journalism training at stand-alone schools characterizes the second group of countries, among which are Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark. In Italy we observe a comparatively late development arising from the discussion about the necessity of systematic journalism education. Reflection on a type of journalism education which combined theory and practical training outside the media companies only started during the eighties.

On the basis of guidelines laid down by the "Ordine dei giornalisti" (Journalists' Council), the first journalism schools were approved in 1990. Today four journalism schools and two post-graduate university programmes are recognized by the Journalists' Council. However, the short journalism programmes recently introduced at several universities have no chance of gaining approval in the near future because of their lack of practical training facilities. These programmes also do not demand more than 12 months of practical training, something which is inconsistent with the requirements of the Journalists' Council.

At the end of the eighties, almost half of Italy's journalists had graduated from university. Since most schools have only recently started, few of today's journalists have attended one of them. This is why almost all journalists have taken an 18-month course of in-house training. This internship is the mandatory requirement for being registered as a journalist by the Council and for being allowed to work as a journalist in Italy. In addition to the obligatory period of practical training, all of those who wish to become a journalist, even persons who have attended one of the recognized schools, have to pass an exam at the Journalists' Council, this acting as a control mechanism for determining access to the profession.

In contrast to Italy, journalism training at stand-alone schools has already become a well-established route to entering the profession in the Netherlands. In the middle of the seventies the percentage of journalists who graduated from journalism schools was still referred to as a "quantité négligeable" (Meissner, 1975:141). A recent survey of a sample of Dutch journalists shows that 37% have been trained at a journalism school, a further 25% of the journalists have a university degree (Vereniging van hogescholen 1993:18). Today, four schools offer a three- or four-year programme in journalism. The school in Utrecht, the oldest one, was founded in 1966. It was initiated by a commission of the journalist unions, the publisher associations and representatives of the government (cf. Hemels, 1977; Meissner, 1975). It is directed by a foundation and financed by the government. The schools in Amersfoort, Tilburg and Zwolle started during the eighties. With their religious background these schools mirror the pillars of Dutch society. The university in Groningen offers 30 students per year specialization in journalism within the framework of study courses in history, Dutch philology, philosophy, sociology or economics. In 1989, an 8-month post-graduate journalism programme was introduced at the University of Rotterdam.

A special case in Europe is Denmark. A law enacted in 1971 substituted the on-the-job training which was customary at the time with an obligatory course of education at the only journalism school in Aarhus. At present, 80% of Danish journalists have graduated from this school (Reus and Becker 1993:5). The Danish school of journalism offers a four-year journalism programme and a four-year course in photo-reporting.

Group C

Another group of countries follows a mixed system of journalism training outside media companies combining courses at stand-alone schools and universities. This is mainly the case in France, Germany, Ireland and Portugal. Compared to other European countries, formalized

journalism training has a long tradition in France. The first school of journalism was founded as early as 1899 at the College of Social Sciences in Paris. Currently, four schools of journalism and four university programmes in journalism are recognized according to the collective agreement between the journalist unions and publisher associations. More than half of French journalists are university graduates, a high percentage having graduated in subjects other than journalism (differing figures are reported for those having graduated in journalism : 15% and 30%; Charon, 1991:340-341).

The French situation is somewhat similar to that in Germany. Here it was the Press Council, composed of representatives from the journalist unions and publishers, which initiated efforts for an academization of journalism training in Germany at the beginning of the seventies. Only a few years later the first departments of journalism were founded at the Universities of Munich and Dortmund, later followed by Mainz and Eichstätt. In addition, there were also the post-graduate study programmes in Stuttgart-Hohenheim and Hanover. Today 45% of German journalists have graduated from university. This is an increase of 11% within ten years. Nevertheless, only a small minority of 3% has graduated in journalism (Schneider et al., 1993)

The first stand-alone journalism school in Germany was founded as early as 1959, followed many years later by two schools owned by the publishing houses Gruner & Jahr (1978) and Springer (1986). Only recently has the publishing house of a big regional newspaper, the "Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", founded its own journalism school. The percentage of German journalists who have attended a journalism school still amounts to only 4 % (Schneider et al. 1993).

In spite of the increasing number of university-level programmes, on-the-job training is still the most important precondition for becoming a journalist in Germany. Almost two thirds of current journalists have completed a one or two-year period of practical training known as the "Volon-tariat". A comparison with figures from earlier years shows the increasing importance of on-the-job training. A recent survey of German journalists concludes: On-the-job training as preparation for the profession still seems to be almost obligatory (Schneider et al. 1993).

The situation in Ireland provides a point of contrast. The first systematic form of journalism education for newly recruited young journalists was offered by the College of Commerce in Dublin in 1963.[2] The programme was organized as a "block-release" course, thus it was a combination of learning-by-doingat a local weekly newspaper and the acquisition

of theoretical knowledge at the college. The programme was adapted from the training scheme provided in Great Britain which will be described later.

The College of Commerce changed this "dual-programme" in 1968 into a two-year permanent course for school leavers. Apart from this journalism course, no other systematic type of journalism education was offered outside the newspapers and outside the learning-by--doing mode until the eighties. At present there are two additional journalism programmes in Ireland, one at Dublin City University and one at the University College in Galway. The programme in Galway offers a one-year course for postgraduates only. The programme at Dublin City University, originally established in 1982 as a postgraduate programme too, meanwhile offers a B.A. in journalism in addition to the older one-year M.A. programme. While students from the College of Commerce in general have few difficulties in finding permanent employment, this is not the case for students from both programmes at the Dublin City University and the University College in Galway. In general, they are required to work as freelancers before being offered a permanent job in the local newspaper industry (cf. Mory and Stephenson, 1991:135-136)

Group D

The final group of countries includes those formally dominated by the on-the-job training philosophy. Its main representative is Great Britain. In no other country can we find a formalized vocational training system with such great emphasis on the practical side. Austria may also be assigned to this group because direct access to the media predominates in journalism, and other institutions only provide courses which accompany practical in-house training. There are no journalism departments at the Austrian universities, and the schools of journalism do not offer long-term basic education.

The structure of journalism education in Switzerland is heterogeneous. This makes an assignment to one of the four groups difficult. The universities in Fribourg and Neuchâtel offer post-graduate journalism programmes, three schools provide courses which accompany a two-year on-the-job training course within a media company. Two schools owned by newspaper companies have long-term basic journalism training schemes.

Vocational training in Great Britain is organized as a combination of practical training in the newspaper companies and college courses. The guidelines for the period of practical training are determined by the "National Council for the Training of Journalists" (NCTJ). This Council, composed of representatives of the newspaper publishers and the journalist

unions, was founded in 1952 as the "National Advisory Council for the Training and Education of Junior Journalists". In 1992, the NCTJ was relaunched as a company limited by guarantee and applied for charitable status.[3] It is important to note that the NCTJ is only concerned with the training of journalists at provincial and local newspapers. The national newspapers do not offer formal schemes of journalism education and recruit their workforce from the provincial newspapers. The periodical industry mainly recruits its journalists individually and directly. In the early eighties, the industry founded the "Periodicals Training Council". "Adult" entrants into journalism cannot turn to the NCTJ for journalism education because, for those older than 30, training is a matter to be arranged by the editor.

The NCTJ sets up the college courses, controls the standards of the college curricula and since recently offers distance learning allied to block and day release. It also lays down guidelines for the "learning by doing" aspect at the newspapers, although that part of the education is not controlled by the NCTJ. The newspaper companies are not obliged to totally comply with these guidelines.

There are mainly two ways of becoming a newspaper journalist, the direct-entry option and the pre-entry option. Pre-entry means starting education in journalism by applying to a journalism college accredited by the NCTJ.[4] Graduates or non-graduates who choose this route have to study between 18 months and two years at a recognized journalism college. They finish their course of studies with the "preliminary examinations" in newspaper journalism, law, public affairs, and shorthand. After that they are expected to find trainee vacancies on newspapers. The trainees serve an 18-month qualifying period of on-the-job training before they take the final "National Certificate Examination" (NCE). In the direct-entry approach the prospective journalist starts as a kind of apprentice at a local or provincial newspaper. During a three-year period the new entrants attend journalism courses at a college accredited by the NCTJ and at the end also take the "preliminary examinations". Direct-entry trainees have to prove two years of on-the-job training in full-time employment before being entitled to sit the "National Certificate Examination". This examination is supervised by the NCTJ and based at ten universities. Those who have completed the two-year programme of practical training and college courses have to pass an examination at the college as well as at the NCTJ in order to be employed by a media company. The NCJT also controls the standards of the college--curricula. At the moment about 15 colleges are recognized by the NCTJ.

It is interesting to note that in spite of the close integration of the newspaper publishers into this education system, several stand-alone in-house programmes have been set up since the end of the seventies. At present, nine such "newspaper in-company schemes" exist; five of them are NCTJ-accredited. On account of the recession, some of them have not accepted any new entrants in recent years. Moreover, several journalism programmes were established at universities during the eighties. However, because of the dominance of vocational training, these academic programmes are still in a difficult position. Usually graduates from the journalism programmes at universities do not have a chance of employment if they have not gone through the dual-track system of education at both the colleges and in the media companies. So, we cannot speak of an academization of journalism education in Great Britain. University programmes do not yet have any importance for the recruitment of young journalists.

One conclusion can be drawn from this short overview: All western European countries have introduced systematic journalism training, but there is no general trend towards academization. Obviously journalism is no longer regarded as a profession which can permit unsystematic access. In this sense, journalism and the role ascribed to journalists in western Europe is undergoing a revaluation through professionalization. The term formalization is here, though, only to be understood as meaning that systematic training is offered in one way or another. It usually does not imply that a certain type of education is an obligatory precondition for entering the profession. The description of the different structures in journalism education has already shown that only some countries have decided on the establishment of journalism training at an academic level.

However, in many countries an increasing number of today's journalists have graduated from university, but only a small percentage of the journalists has graduated in journalism. Thus, we may speak of an academization of the profession but not of a general academization of journalism education. This is even partly true for the U.S. with its relatively long tradition of systematic journalism training. No more than 39% of American journalists have majored in journalism. Journalism studies have only become a norm among journalists working for daily newspapers. Almost half of the newspaper journalists (48.8%) have studied journalism compared to roughly 20% of journalists working for broadcasting stations (Weaver/Wilhoit, 1993)

Regulations for Journalism Training and Access to the Profession

Although in western Europe access to journalism is free in principle, in most countries we do encounter some regulations, either laid down by law or collective agreements between journalist unions and publisher associations, which influence journalism training or access to the profession.

Several countries keep professional registers asking those who wish to be registered as journalists to meet certain conditions. Among the western European countries, Italy has the strictest registration requirements. The professional register is kept by the Journalists' Council. The register was introduced by law in 1963 at the same time as the Council itself. The register distinguishes four categories of journalists: Professionisti (professionals, highest category), pubblicisti (publicists), specialisti (specialists, mainly foreigners), and praticanti (trainees). Among the conditions to be met in order to become registered as a professional is the demand for a period of practical training to be undertaken lasting at least 18 months and proof of professional aptitude which is acquired by passing an exam held by the Council.

According to a law dating back to 1963, recognition as a journalist in Belgium is dependent on two years' professional experience even though the law makes no reference to journalism training as such (Mory and Stephenson, 1991: 57). In Portugal, a press card has been required by law since 1979. Cards are issued by the journalist union. An additional collective agreement determines that a press card is only given to journalists with at least a two years' experience (four years for non-members of the union). This is reduced to 18 months for graduates from a journalism school (Mory and Stephenson, 1991:194)

In Switzerland, regulations for a professional register have been laid down in a collective contract between publishers and journalist unions. Only those who have been working as journalists for at least two years can be registered (La Roche 1982:234). However, being registered is not an mandatory condition for working as a journalist. In France, a commission consisting of journalists and publishers issues press cards subject to annual renewal. The cards are issued according to conditions prescribed by the same state decree which also established the commission. A press card is given to persons working regularly in journalism, but no special training is required (Abrégé:93-95). Although a card is not demanded by law, a collective agreement forbids media companies to employ journalists without a press card for more than three months (Mory and Stephenson 1991:141).

Several countries also have fixed guidelines for one form or another of journalism training or fixed criteria for the recognition of institutions engaged in journalism training. The strictest regulation here can be found in Denmark. Since the law passed in 1971, entry to the profession has been limited to those who have attended the Journalism High School in Aarhus.

Italy also has far-reaching regulations concerning journalism training. In 1988, the Journalists' Council formulated criteria for the recognition of journalism schools. The curriculum at the schools is supervised and evaluated by an advisory commission at the Council. The training programme at these schools is approved as a substitute for the obligatory 18 months' practical training within a media company. Those who have attended any course other than a recognized journalism programme have to undergo practical training. The same law which introduced the Journalists' Council and the professional register also determines that practical training can only be done at dailies, broadcasting and television stations as well as wire services with at least four permanent journalists, or at a journal with at least six journalists.

In Great Britain, it is the NCTJ which lays down the guidelines for practical training and mainly controls the theoretical side of the education - so-called "underpinning knowledge" - of the future journalists. In France, conditions for the recognition of journalism training institutions are part of a collective agreement, too. Austria has a collective agreement which lays down criteria for the form but not for the content of the period of practical training in the media companies. Switzerland had a similar agreement which was denounced by the unions some time ago. In Germany journalist unions and the publishers' association reached a collective agreement on in-house training in 1990. This agreement includes among other things regulations relating to the length of the "Volontariat", to internal and external theoretical courses, and to the minimum size of the newspaper at which education takes place (ratio of journalists to trainees).

Compared to all these "regulations", the arrangement in Ireland can be seen as the least formal. On account of the relatively strong position, the Irish National Union of Journalists has big impact on the existing journalism programmes. Thus, the Irish National Union of Journalists, which, by the way, is part of the "National Union of Journalists of Britain and Ireland", offers a form of accreditation of the three centres for journalism training by recognizing them informally. For the respective educational programmes this "recognition" by the union is more a question of credibility, status or image. It has only weak influence on the recruitment of students, particularly on the recruitment of those to the national newspapers. In addition, there is neither a legal nor a professional requirement for being recognized as a

journalist. Instead, the profession is defined by the membership of the Irish National Union of Journalists because nearly all fully employed journalists are members of the union (cf. Mory and Stephenson, 1991:132-135).

Structures of Inhomogeneity - "Dilemma" or Chance?

The emphasis placed on one or other form of journalism training in the different countries as well as the degree of formalization, either through laws and collective agreement or through de facto channelling, have revealed the inhomogeneous structure of journalism training in western Europe. With free access there are no formal obstacles to professional mobility - once the language problem has been overcome. So, it is not to be expected that the question of the homogenization of journalism training will be put on the political agenda as has happened in the EC member states with regard to their efforts to standardize school, professional, and academic education to enable mobility within Europe.

However, there may be some general trends leading to an assimilation of journalism training in the European countries. Activities to foster closer contact between journalism students as well as journalism teachers in the EC and EFTA countries which have been observable during recent years can be regarded as one indicator of the need for international co-operation and exchange. The European Commission itself has been supporting some of these activities financially for several years, e.g. through the ERASMUS programme. Even more than that: In 1989, the European Commission in Brussels initiated a survey on the state of journalism education in Europe. In July 1990, a first stocklist describing the different training models in journalism was presented by Pierre Mory and Hugh Stephenson (published 1991).

Paramount among the trends which will influence the future role of journalists and the development of journalism training in Europe are the ongoing changes in the national media systems. These changes concern the commercialization of the broadcasting market, the introduction of management techniques for the media, the general globalization of communication as well as the increasing concentration of the media worldwide.5

Privatization of broadcasting has led or will lead to a multitude of competing stations and a differentiation of the market. In some countries this has already brought about a sudden demand for journalists who have specialized in broadcasting and are available at short notice. This development opens up discussion about greater specialization in journalism education, changing the traditional system of offering general (basic) training before optional specializa-

tion according to a particular department or type of media. In Norway for example, the idea of creating a special radio journalism school came along with the licensing of numerous local radio stations. In Germany, the sprouting of many private local radio stations in some parts of the country has already led to an extended offer of short-term radio journalism courses of a different kind. In Italy the public broadcasting corporation RAI has supported the founding of a school for radio journalism in Perugia. In the long run, therefore, the differentiation of the media market with its demand for specialization in journalism education might lead to a segmentation of the profession. Segmentation here means that journalists are no longer provided with general (basic) knowledge but are trained for a specific field, thus limiting their inter-media mobility and independence. Consequently, the structural changes in the media market will affect the traditional models of journalism training as new demands are made on journalists. In time, this development should also lead to changes in the image of journalists in society and to changes in journalists' self-perception.

Not only in the commercializing broadcasting sector but also in the often highly concentrated print media market, management techniques will increasingly challenge the traditional public-service ideology. The takeover of media companies by industrial entrepreneurs, as has happened for example in Italy and France, only serves to make this trend obvious. Journalism training will have to react to this development by integrating economic aspects into the curriculum. A recent survey of Dutch journalists proves that journalists today already feel the need for these subjects: 79% of the newspaper journalists and 67% of broadcasting journalists said that more attention should be paid to management techniques during journalism training, 71% and 73% respectively asked for more attention to be paid to marketing knowledge (Vereniging van hogescholen 1993, 62). The study programme in communication management as established parallel to the postgraduate journalism programme in Hanover (Germany) is only one reaction to the new demand. The Scandinavian training programme in media economics for students from five Nordic countries which ran during the first half of 1993 in Sweden (article by Gustafsson in this book) is an example for an innovative offer taking into account the international perspective which will come even more to the fore with the growing transnational activities of the big media companies.

Beside the changes in the media systems, the general globalization of politics with an attendant increase in political interdependencies and particularly the coalescence of the European countries will also lead to new conditions and new tasks for journalists. In one respect, political, economical and environmental issues are to be increasingly dealt with in a

global perspective. To cope with this challenge journalists will have to have a profound knowledge of other (European) countries and to build up a network of colleagues for international co-operation to be used for purposes of information exchange and in order to really grasp the transnational aspects of an issue. European integration might also lead to the introduction of more Europe-oriented programmes or European media (such as "The European", or the French-German cultural TV channel "Arte") with journalists working in international teams. Moreover, the establishment of European structures with ever increasing influence on national politics demands an influential counterpart in the form of the media.

The growing number of Eurojournalism programmes in several countries as well as networks for the exchanges and contact between students and journalism teachers represent the obvious trend towards closer co-operation in the field. On the one hand, these activities help to mediate the European dimension of the work of the future journalist. This is achieved through special courses concentrating on European political, economic, social and cultural institutions and issues, and through exchange programmes among the schools of journalism enabling students to embark upon study courses in different European countries. Further extension of these exchange programmes should lead to some kind of assimilation since they require temporal and structural synchronization, and, in the long run, they may be even be co-ordinated in terms of content. On the other hand, the European activities help to create a better understanding of the styles and techniques of journalists in other countries. This is a crucial aspect for the exchanges within networks and for co-operation in international teams because the heterogeneous structure of journalism training in Europe also indicates the heterogeneity of the role and functions ascribed to journalists in the different countries. The way journalists are educated influences their self perception. Their perception of themselves and their role in society in turn leads to differences in journalistic practice. While this is an obstacle to any move towards the homogenization of journalism training models in western Europe, it can also be seen as a chance for extending the scope and quality of training programmes in individual countries through international co-operation.

Notes

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1. We will not deal with traditional mass communication departments here though they also provide some influx to journalism but usually do not claim to offer journalism training.

2. A diploma in journalism was first offered as a curricular option by the National University of Ireland in 1912. However, the qualification was not awarded.

3. The member bodies nominate representatives on the following agreed basis: Newspaper Society 3, Scottish Newspaper Society 1, Associated Northern Ireland Newspapers 1 (only since 1992), Guild of British Newspaper Editors 3, National Union of Journalists 2, Chartered Institute of Journalists 1.

4. The first pre-entry course was already established in 1965. At present, about 15 colleges of further education are recognized by the NCTJ.

5. The following paragraphs are very much inspired by the "questions for a start" presented by Gerd G. Kopper and the following discussion among colleagues from several countries at the conference on "Innovation in journalism training - a European perspective" in Dortmund, Germany, June 25th and 26th, 1993.

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